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# From Marginalia to Bookends: Industrialization, Capitalism, and Advertising in Hungary's Modern Literary Journal, *Nyugat* (1908–41)

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## ABSTRACT

This paper examines *Nyugat* [*West*], the premier journal of modern Hungarian literature published from 1908 to 1941 and edited by Ernő Osvát (1876–1929), Ignóty (1869–1949), and Miksa Fenyő (1877–1972) until 1917. Although Hungarian scholarship has detailed the role played by Osvát and Ignóty, Fenyő's contribution to this triumvirate has received less attention, a lack that may have hindered literary historians' understanding of the more widespread, sociological reasons underlying *Nyugat's* long-lasting presence in a highly competitive book market. I argue that examining Fenyő's editorial position demands the inclusion of *marginalia*, the term this study utilizes to denote the factory advertisements, banking-related notifications, military supply announcements, railway schedules, and eulogies that display Fenyő's ties to the industrial lobby organization GyOSz — the National Association of Hungarian Industrialists, also referred to as 'the Association' — within the pages of a journal dedicated to promoting *fin-de-siècle* aestheticism. Exploring what Bernard Lahire would describe as Fenyő's 'double life' thereby paves the way to theorizing what beliefs and 'rules of the game' (*illusio*) may have determined the connection between Hungary's wealthiest industrialists and *Nyugat* during a period when the journal's editors and authors sought to attain both authorial and financial autonomy.

## KEYWORDS

*Nyugat*, marginalia, illusio, periodical formation, editorial disposition

Taking Matthew Philpotts' typology of editors as its starting point, this paper examines *Nyugat* [*West*], the premier journal of modern Hungarian literature published from 1908 to 1941 and edited by Ernő Osvát (1876–1929), Ignó (1869–1949), and Miksa Fenyő (1877–1972) until 1917.<sup>1</sup> Although Hungarian scholarship has detailed the role played by Osvát and Ignó, Fenyő's contribution to this triumvirate has received less attention, a lack that may have hindered literary historians' understanding of the more widespread, sociological reasons underlying *Nyugat's* long-lasting presence in a highly competitive book market. I argue that examining Fenyő's editorial position demands the inclusion of *marginalia*, the term this study utilizes to denote the factory advertisements, banking-related notifications, military supply announcements, railway schedules, and eulogies that display Fenyő's ties to the industrial lobby organization GyOSz — the National Association of Hungarian Industrialists, also referred to as 'the Association' — within the pages of a journal dedicated to promoting *fin-de-siècle* aestheticism. Exploring what Bernard Lahire would describe as Fenyő's 'double life' thereby paves the way to theorizing what beliefs and 'rules of the game' (*illusio*) may have determined the connection between Hungary's wealthiest industrialists and *Nyugat* during a period when the journal's editors and authors sought to attain both authorial and financial autonomy.<sup>2</sup>

### What Is *Nyugat*?

Simply put, *Nyugat* was a bimonthly journal published on the first and sixteenth day of every month except during periods (such as World War I) when paper shortages forced its editors to print single, double editions, or after 1932, when the journal was only published monthly. At its official inception in 1908 — the year when *La Nouvelle Revue Française* and the *English Review* were also launched — each issue cost one *korona*, an amount that roughly equalled two theatre tickets for gallery seats yet was still lower than the daily wage of 1.62 *koronas* averaged by an agricultural worker.<sup>3</sup> Barring a few issues published in 1911 that featured traditional motifs from Hungarian folk art, the journal mostly preserved the same, iconic cover that prominently displayed artist Fülöp O. Beck's (1873–1945) emblematic depiction of the eighteenth-century author, Kelemen Mikes (1690–1761), ostensibly shown pondering the fate of Hungarian literature while writing at his symbolic desk (Fig. 1).

Unlike the committee of editors who oversaw *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, or the 'single-editor' system that was typical of the *English Review*, or, indeed, most Hungarian periodicals at the time, *Nyugat* was headed by the literary critic Ernő Osvát, author and journalist Ignó, and theatre critic and GyOSz affiliate Miksa Fenyő. On the part of Osvát and Fenyő, *Nyugat* was not their first attempt at running a literary journal together: in 1902, Osvát had attempted to turn the weekly family magazine, *Magyar Gênioz* [*Hungarian Genius*], into a 'social, literary, and critical journal' that failed by the end of 1903, with Osvát bowing out as editor before the 8 March 1903 issue was published.<sup>4</sup> In 1905, Osvát started *Figyelő* [*Observer*], a literary and critical journal that most notably gathered many of the authors who would later play significant roles in *Nyugat*. While Osvát and Fenyő were cutting their editorial teeth on two short-lived ventures, Ignó

1 This paper was originally given as a lecture at the 9<sup>th</sup> ESPRit Conference, 1–17 June 2021, Ruhr-Universität Bochum. Matthew Philpotts, 'The Role of the Periodical Editor: Literary Journals and Editorial Habitus', *Modern Language Review*, 107.1 (2012), 39–64.

2 Bernard Lahire, 'The Double Life of Writers', *New Literary History*, 41.2 (2010), 443–65.

3 Mario D. Fenyő, *Literature and Political Change: Budapest, 1908–1918* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1987), p. 73.

4 Sándor Borbély, 'A Magyar Gênioz egy elfelejtett száma', *Irodalomtörténet*, 52.2 (1970), 451–53.

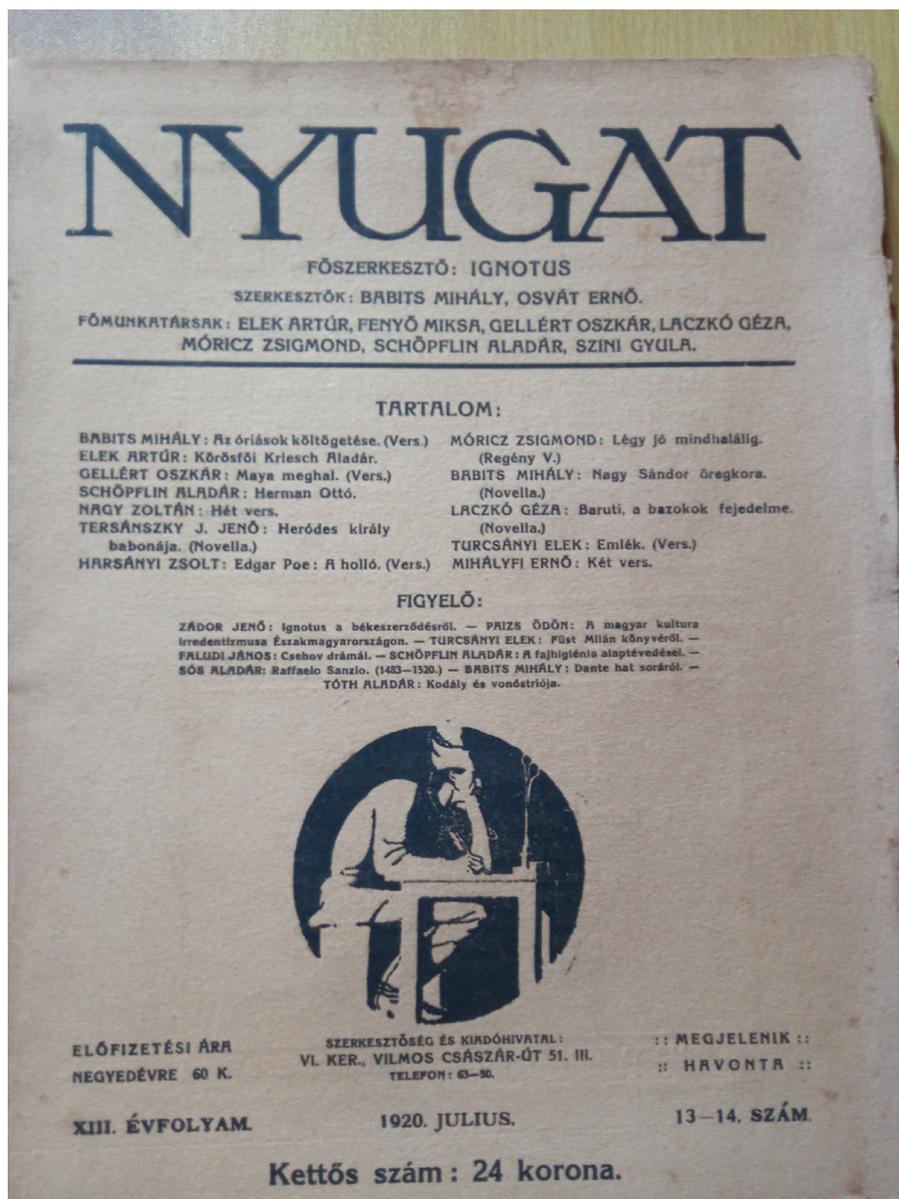


Fig. 1 Front cover of the first issue of *Nyugat*, 1 January 1908. <https://epa.oszk.hu/>.

— the *nom de plume* used by Hugó Veigelsberg until he officially changed his name to Hugó Ignotus in 1907 — was a well-known author, poet, critic, foreign correspondent, and journalist who wrote for many of the era's leading newspapers.

To echo Martyn Cornick's summation of the place *La Nouvelle Revue Française* holds in French cultural history, *Nyugat* can also be described as a 'major intersection of intellectuals' networks' that contributed greatly to a golden age of publishing and artistic output in Hungary's cultural history.<sup>5</sup> Although *Nyugat* does not represent the entire wealth of Hungarian culture from this period, within literary circles it has maintained a virtually unquestioned place on the symbolic top shelf: that coveted position in university research libraries where *Nyugat's* contents have been packaged and

5 Martyn Cornick, *Intellectuals in History: The Nouvelle Revue Française Under Jean Paulhan, 1925–1940* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), pp. 4–5.

then repackaged into anthologies, annotated texts, and complete or collected works. To summarize the explanation commonly found in both school textbooks and analyses by literary historians, *Nyugat* appeared at a time when the literary scene was developing an often unapologetically urban language, one that reflected and fuelled the changing conditions of modernism.

As its name, ‘West’, tellingly indicates, *Nyugat* both introduced and drew upon Western European cultural movements while proclaiming a more inclusive, non-nationalistic approach to Hungarian literature. *Nyugat*’s pages were open to any work deemed aesthetically acceptable, including the works of the avantgarde artist and poet Lajos Kassák (1887–1967); Lajos Hatvany (1880–1961), the author and heir to an immensely wealthy Jewish family that was lifted to the rank of a baronetcy; Margit Kaffka (1880–1918), the modern female poet and author; the vagabond author Józsi Jenő Tersánszky (1888–1969); Mihály Babits (1883–1941), a poet who regularly struggled with his Catholicism; and Károly Pap (1897–1945), a writer who commonly depicted the everyday world of Jewish families. Add to this social diversity the wealth of fields — from art and music to psychology, neurology, economics, history, and politics — that appeared in *Nyugat* and one can only wonder what ‘rules of the game’ made this sense of pluralism possible at a time when Hungarian society was segregated according to the standards of a still feudalistic hierarchy. By approaching the journal from a non-aesthetic viewpoint, I hope that this study will instead draw attention to the cultural symbiosis and diversity that was a great source of inspiration for Hungary’s modern artistic movements.<sup>6</sup>

Based on traditional interpretations, *Nyugat*’s success lies in its aesthetic achievements. These are mainly credited to Ernő Osvát’s keen literary taste, fervent dedication to discovering new talents, and undeniable ability to dominate authors, until suicide, in 1929, brought an end to his position at the journal’s helm.<sup>7</sup> Although their own contributions must not be denied, it can be argued that by the time Osvát’s successors, the authors Zsigmond Móricz (1879–1942) and Mihály Babits, took over the journal’s editorship, *Nyugat* had become its own ‘brand’. Although this process has been examined from the perspective of publishing strategies, it has not been adequately detailed within the context of the era’s expanding market economy. Given Fenyő’s close ties to an association that lobbied the Hungarian government for — among other things — increased access to trade, protection from Austrian competition for products made by Hungarian factories, and voting rights for factory workers, the time has arrived to place *Nyugat* within the broader narrative indicated by the advertisements and texts that can be linked through Miksa Fenyő to GyOSz.

Examining *Nyugat* during its formative years between 1908 to 1917 not only pushes the boundaries of Europe’s ‘geographies’ to include a culture and language that remains relatively unfamiliar to European scholarship, but also provides a further example of how a group of intellectuals strove to challenge the foundation of a rigid academicism, take up new technologies, and circumvent the powerful grip of the aristocratic elite.<sup>8</sup> Unlike Huyssen’s previous description of the ramparts breached by modernism, in Hungary’s case the academic institutions that were begging ‘to

6 For an analysis of the role played by Hungarian Jews in Hungary’s modernization, see Péter Bihari, *Lövészárkok a hátszágban: Középosztály, zsidókérdés, anitszemitizmus az első világháború Magyarországon* (Budapest: Napvilág, 2008), pp. 56–57. For a detailed examination of the contribution made by Hungarian Jews to Budapest’s modern cultural movements, see Mary Gluck, *The Invisible Jewish Budapest* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2016).

7 For a discussion of Ernő Osvát’s life and editorial practices, see Zoltán Fráter, *Osvát Ernő élete és halála* (Budapest: Magvető, 1987) and Tibor Kosztolánczy, *A fiatal Osvát Ernő* (Budapest: Universitas, 2009).

8 Andreas Huyssen, ‘Geographies of Modernism in a Globalizing World’, *New German Critique*, 100 (2007), 189–207 (p. 190).

be opposed' had only recently formed;<sup>9</sup> the spread and control of technologies such as railways were highly reliant upon the goodwill of the Habsburg monarchy;<sup>10</sup> an emerging, often Jewish, industrial elite was increasingly entering the ranks of the *ancien régime* to take on the role of *parvenu*; and the capital city, Budapest, was still developing into an urban centre.<sup>11</sup> Based on the 1900 census, only fifty percent of the population could be expected to read Hungarian, a circumstance that raises the question of what role the Hungarian-language *Nyugat* may have filled in promoting or perhaps even determining the massive process of assimilation that was occurring with incredible speed in the period surrounding World War I.<sup>12</sup>

Huyssen argues that European modernism emerged from the 'sparks' that flew out of the 'violent knocking' between old and new, resulting in a state of transition that also characterized, 'however differently', the life found in 'the colonies'.<sup>13</sup> However, it remains a challenge to describe Hungary's ever-shifting position between that of the hyphenated partner in a European power (the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy) versus its political, economic, and cultural struggle to preserve a measure of autonomy in the face of a colonizing presence, whose brutal reprisals following the 1849 Hungarian Revolution remained fresh in the minds of Hungarians. Rather than simply referring to authors, Lahire's examination of the uncertain, double status of writers can perhaps serve as an inspiration for understanding the broader implications related to cultural production in the Dual Monarchy.

Beyond the economic or professional duality that typifies most writers, according to Lahire, it must be emphasized that in early twentieth-century Hungary, cultural production (or the literary field) was determined by a series of dualities that comprised what Bourdieu neatly terms 'the field of power'.<sup>14</sup> Closely related to the geographic duality brought about by Hungary's position between East and West, the political duality required by 'membership' of the Austro-Hungarian Empire demanded a constant balancing between the economic interests intrinsic to survival and national pride. Nor can the mainly hidden, yet still dual, linguistic and personal identities of a vast number of individuals be forgotten as the nation's German-, Slovak-, Romanian-, Ruthenian-, Serb-, Croatian-, and Yiddish-speaking populations increasingly transformed

9 To mention one example of the timeframe for Hungarian literature's path toward institutionalization, published in 1864, *A magyar nemzeti irodalom története a legrégebbi időktől a jelen korig rövid előadásban* [*An Abbreviated History of Hungary's National Literature From the Earliest Period to Recent Times, in Brief Lectures*] was the first handbook written for the purpose of teaching Hungarian literary history in schools. Written by Ferenc Toldy (1805–75), the 'father' of Hungarian literary history, this volume summarized Hungarian literature from the conquest of the Carpathian Basin to 1849. As its title suggests, Toldy examines Hungarian literature from the perspective of how well authors encapsulate and promote the 'national character' of a quality known as 'Hungarianness', thereby laying the foundation for an academicism that demanded authors adhere to the poetic and prosaic traditions associated with 'Hungarianness'. See Dezső Tóth, Toldy Ferenc, *A magyar irodalom története 1772-től 1849-ig* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1965), pp. 516–23 (pp. 520–23).

10 For a description of how, in 1841, the Habsburg Monarchy's decisions regarding Hungary's access to railways led to increased support for an independent Hungarian railway and trade system, see Béla Pakucs, 'Magyarország kirekesztése az első államvasúti rendszerből (1841)', *Közgazdasági Szemle* (November–December 1938), 953–62 (p. 956).

11 For a history of Hungarian Jewry, see János Gyurgyák, *A zsidókérdés Magyarországon* (Budapest: Osiris, 2001). See Katalin Fenyves, *Képzelt asszimiláció? Négy zsidó értelmiségi nemzedék önképe* (Budapest: Corvina, 2010) for an analysis of Jewish assimilation into Hungarian society. For an examination of the urbanization of Budapest, see Gábor Gyáni, *Budapest túl jön és rosszon: A nagyvárosi múlt mint tapasztalat* (Budapest: Napvilág, 2008).

12 Dániel Szabó, 'Hirdetési kultúra a századfordulón', *Budapesti Negyed*, 16–17 (1997), 71–100 (pp. 2–3). > Dániel Szabó, 'Hirdetési kultúra a századfordulón', *Budapesti Negyed*, 16–17 (1997) [accessed 8 February 2024].

13 Huyssen, p. 190.

14 Pierre Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*, trans. by Susan Emanuel (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), p. 215.

themselves into people who were ostensibly ‘only’ engaged in speaking Hungarian as a sign of possessing a ‘new’ Hungarian identity. The critic Aladár Schöpflin’s famous essay describing the modernizing process, ‘A város’ [‘The City’], is also notable for its expression of the painful rupture that assimilation demanded of families:

Any sixty-year-old alive today saw Pest with its roots still entrenched in the world of a German city. Today, the German language has irretrievably retreated to Buda’s aged homes where grandfathers who have yet to learn Hungarian struggle to converse to their heart’s content with their grandchildren who no longer understand German.<sup>15</sup>

Located somewhere between the business culture of GyOSz, which was often conducted in the Monarchy’s official language, German, and the literary world of the Hungarian-language *Nyugat*, Miksa Fenyő’s position can be viewed as a case study of how to manoeuvre between the demands of Hungary’s ever-shifting state(s) of dualism while publishing a journal.

For the purpose of analysing how Fenyő’s ‘double life’ may open interpretations of *Nyugat* to a broader socio-economic perspective, this overview of the journal and its position in Hungarian cultural history will be followed by an examination of the *habitus* of *Nyugat*’s editors based upon Matthew Philpotts’ typology of editorship. With my focus on Fenyő, I will then examine both his and the journal’s connection to GyOSz through the lens of an authorial autonomy that, arguably, lost some of its ground through the inclusion of GyOSz-related advertisements and notifications, the latter placing the journal’s *l’art pour l’art* aims within an industrial, capitalist context. To reveal how the rules of authorial autonomy may have demanded a new approach to cultural patronage, my examination then turns to a comparison between the traditional eulogies that marked the deaths of founding GyOSz members from the Hatvany and Chorin families and the strikingly different commemorations found in the pages of *Nyugat*.

### The Dispositions of *Nyugat*’s Editors

Based upon Bourdieu’s usage of the term *habitus*, or ‘dispositions’, Matthew Philpotts’ typology of editors examines how factors such as an editor’s family background, social network, access to economic or cultural capital, character, and editing style may have influenced a periodical’s success.<sup>16</sup> To apply Philpotts’s conceptualization of the editorial role, *Nyugat*’s literary editor, Ernő Osvát, best qualifies as an example of charismatic editorship, thanks to his ability to gather and control an enviable roll call of great artists. To borrow from Bourdieu’s concept of capital, Osvát is an example of forging what I label as professional capital, i.e. the ability to create a professional model of editing as a calling that demands total allegiance and devotion from an individual whose only role (identity) is that of editor.

Originally named Hugó Veigelsberg, Ignotus was the only *Nyugat* editor to possess the social capital that accompanies a background in a literary family with a recognizable name. Given his experience, Ignotus can perhaps be categorized as the ‘mediating editor’ who displays aspects of charismatic editorship, yet possesses the

15 ‘Aki ma hatvan éves, az még mint gyökereiben német várost látta Pestet, ma pedig a német szó végleg visszavonult Buda öregházaiba s ott is az öregapák már alig tudnak szívük szerint eldiskurálni unokáikkal, mert az öregapák még nem tudnak magyarul, az unokák pedig már nem tudnak németül.’ Aladár Schöpflin, ‘A város’, *Nyugat*, 1.7 (1908), 353–61 (pp. 354–55). Unless otherwise noted, the Hungarian quotations were translated into English by the author.

16 Bourdieu, pp. 179–80.

multiple skills needed to mediate between the previous generation of journalism and the new, is familiar with the bohemian world of Hungary's cultural scene, and possesses the acumen (not to mention connections) to make canny judgments regarding the current state of politics.<sup>17</sup>

Perhaps the least noted editor from *Nyugat's* early years, Miksa Fenyő best resembles the 'self-made man'. Born Miksa Fleischmann in a tiny village located in southern Hungary, Fenyő was one of seven children in a Jewish family that still belonged to the pre-industrial world of self-employed, small-scale craftsmen. In comparison to Osvát, with his intellectual connections to a rabbinical family, or Ignótus, with his cosmopolitan background as a bohemian 'man of the world', Fenyő travelled the farthest cultural, economic, and social distance to enter the industrial and cultural world of Budapest. Sent to the capital city at the age of ten to continue his secondary education, Fenyő overcame considerable obstacles in adapting to urban life, while acquiring a set of friends whose work would later prove influential in more ways than one.

Other than forging a lifelong connection with Ernő Osvát, Fenyő also became a fast friend of Ferenc Chorin Jr. (1879–1964), son to one of the most powerful industrialist families in Hungary, whose marriage into the Weiss family connected two vastly influential dynasties of factory owners. In 1902, forced to end his promising political career by a law that forbade parliamentary participation for any business owner holding government contracts, Chorin's father — Ferenc Chorin Sr. (1842–1925) — joined forces with 'sugar baron' Sándor Hatvany-Deutsch (1852–1913) to establish GyOSz, in an attempt to consolidate Hungary's industrialists into a lobby organization that could perhaps sway Hungarian politics from beyond the rooms of Parliament.<sup>18</sup> Given their shared literary interests, it is no surprise that Fenyő also became friends with Hatvany-Deutsch's son, Lajos Hatvany, who would initially ensure the financial resources for launching *Nyugat*.<sup>19</sup>

To summarize their editorial roles: whereas Osvát was responsible for all artistic decisions, sought new talent, and paid little attention to correspondence, handling printers, distributing the journal, or any other practical matter related to operating a bimonthly periodical, Ignótus channelled his prestige as a journalist into defending the journal from critics; his name on the masthead can be viewed as a means of creating 'name recognition' for a fledgling periodical. Fenyő corresponded with authors, wrote essays, theatre, and book reviews, and directed financial matters, which included many of the tasks surrounding *Nyugat's* actual publication. Fenyő's administrative tasks could place him within the *habitus* of the 'bureaucratic editor' who is 'always an editorial figure prepared to take leadership in the essential but more mundane work which sustains a literary review'.<sup>20</sup> His letters and writings also reveal him to be a man possessing great

17 Philpotts, 'The Role of the Periodical Editor', p. 54.

18 For an English-language overview of the Association's history, aims, and structure, see George Deak, *The Economy and Polity: Creation of the National Association of Hungarian Industrialists* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990). In Hungarian, see Szabolcs Szita, *A Magyar Gyáriparosok Országos Szövetsége: A GyOSZ kiépítése és működése 1902-től 1948-ig* (Budapest: MGYOSZ, 1997). For an early examination of the patronage between Association members and *Nyugat*, see Zoltán Fráter, *A Szövetség szelleme – A Nyugat mecénásai a GyOSZ-ban* (Budapest: Kner Nyomda, 1996).

19 Lajos Hatvany undoubtedly played a large role in financing *Nyugat* until arguments between Hatvany and the editors led to a parting of financial ways. Attila Buda's analysis of Hatvany's correspondence with *Nyugat* editors reveals that Hatvany's objections were mainly fuelled by the expectation that Osvát would agree to publish authors selected by Hatvany. See Attila Buda, 'A levelezések őszintesége avagy a filológus kategorikus imperatívusza' in *A Nyugat-jelenség 1908–1998*, ed. by István B. Szabó (Budapest: Anonymus, 1998), pp. 40–82. This debate then led to the establishment of *Nyugat* Book Publishers, a venture supported by several GyOSz affiliates. Given their objections to Hatvany's demands, this paper explores an alternative interpretation to how *Nyugat's* editors balanced patronage with authorial/editorial autonomy.

20 Philpotts, 'The Role of the Periodical Editor', p. 52.

charm and a deep empathy towards the nature of writers. Fenyő's *habitus* therefore combines strong interpersonal skills with the work ethic needed for a person to succeed in two demanding professions. Despite his dual affiliation, Fenyő identified as a writer and supported *Nyugat* and all it represented to an almost obsessive degree. Throughout the debates that threatened to shift power relations among either editors or authors, Fenyő's unswerving loyalty to Osvát proved an unbreachable bulwark, while his ability to soften the blows delivered by Osvát's aesthetic pronouncements earned him the nickname of 'the kind editor'.<sup>21</sup>

It must not be forgotten that the *Nyugat* editor and critic, Miksa Fenyő, also formed the most direct link between the journal and GyOSz. Beginning in 1904, Fenyő served as second secretary at the Association's Department of Press Affairs, before becoming editor of the Association's bimonthly periodical, *Magyar Gyáripar* [*Hungarian Manufactory*], in 1911. Upon rising to the key position of Director of Affairs in 1917, Fenyő officially stepped back from his editorial duties at *Nyugat*, yet remained a stalwart contributor to the journal until government pressure led to its demise in 1941. Fenyő remained the Association's Director of Affairs until 1938, when he resigned before being pushed from his position by newly ratified anti-Jewish decrees. As editor, Miksa Fenyő produced roughly three hundred pages of critiques, essays, literary portraits, political commentary, and eulogies in *Nyugat*; yet the complete story of his oeuvre must also include the economic and political writings he published, either through GyOSz or in numerous other newspapers and journals published at the time.

### ***Nyugat* as a Periodical Formation**

To illustrate what Matthew Chambers would call *Nyugat's* 'periodical formation', it is striking that *Nyugat* was headed by three editors whose collaboration bore earmarks of the kind of differentiated labour common to industry.<sup>22</sup> Like Chambers, I refer to *Nyugat* as a 'formation' rather than a group because viewing the journal as a formation allows for the examination of how cultural activity is a conflagration of discourses, a set of intersections between the aesthetic, economic, and social.<sup>23</sup> From the perspective of how its editors collaborated, *Nyugat's* formation echoes the Association's structure. Comprised of three, differentiated levels, each section was operated by committees in charge of specialized departments. Although the Association was headed by one individual, its president was elected to his position by a general assembly and a member of an executive committee. At a time when general voting rights were not available to Hungarian citizens, the Association's election model offered a remarkably liberal opportunity to practice what could be termed 'capitalist democracy', in that voting was a right attained by simply paying the Association's membership dues.<sup>24</sup> The Association therefore represented a remarkable expansion of network opportunities for entrepreneurs whose membership was not contingent upon social class, religion, location, native language, or affiliation with a given economic sector. Instead, GyOSz members were joined by the common goal of modernizing Hungarian industry and society.

With a network that stretched throughout the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, GyOSz was characterized by an openness to negotiating with anyone, regardless of

21 Anna Lesznai, 'Levél', *Látóhatár*, 8.6 (1957), 357–58 (p. 358).

22 Matthew Chambers, *Modernism, Periodicals and Cultural Poetics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 2.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

24 George Deak, 'The Search for an Urban Alliance: The National Association of Hungarian Industrialists [GyOSz] before the First World War', in *Jews in the Hungarian Economy, 1760–1945*, ed. by Michael K. Silber (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1992), pp. 214–19 (p. 211).

political ideology or religious creed. Given the hierarchical and fairly segregated nature of Hungarian society at the time, the Association's ability to forge a diverse array of alliances is noteworthy. This attitude could have provided an apt model for the plurality of social class, ethnicity, religion, economic status, and beliefs displayed by the authors who affiliated themselves with *Nyugat*. When studying the lives of the many self-made businessmen who overcame enormous legal, political, and financial restrictions — which included laws targeting Jews, the lack of general voting rights, and a relatively ineffective credit system — to modernize Hungary's economy, it is hard not to draw a parallel between *Nyugat's* continued insistence on personal achievement and the Association's reliance upon a network forged from individual success.

Simply expressed, the relationship between *Nyugat* and GyOSz can be reduced to the formulaic description used by Robert Scholes and Clifford Wulfman: 'Modernity is a social condition. Modernism was a response to that condition.'<sup>25</sup> In this equation, modernism is a 'textual response to the demographic, economic, and technological developments that produced the modern world'.<sup>26</sup> As Philpotts aptly states, the 'success of editorship depends ultimately on the richness and plurality of the social conditions in which it operates', a caveat that summarizes a journal's ability to keep publishing its responses to the outside world.<sup>27</sup> One result of Fenyő's professional connections manifests itself in a separate set of texts that form the corpus of what I categorize as GyOSz-related marginalia, i.e. the industrial advertisements and announcements (including those related to death) that both bordered and bookended *Nyugat's* cultural contributions. For a contemporary reader, these texts seemingly share no connection with either the literary or cultural announcements that declared *Nyugat's* artistic ambitions, or the advertisements for products (clothing, accessories, hygiene, furnishings, etc.) that — reflecting the rise of department stores — suggest that the magazine be interpreted as a storehouse.<sup>28</sup>

As Patrick Collier argues, scholars tend to contextualize certain periodicals within the field of literary studies, thereby branding a magazine's 'storehouse' with the label of a particular genre. *Nyugat* has undoubtedly been canonized as an aesthetic movement that came to dominate the field of literature.<sup>29</sup> For those taught to view *Nyugat* through the lens of literature, the seemingly non-integrated presence of GyOSz-related marginalia

25 Robert Scholes and Clifford Wulfman, *Modernism in the Magazines* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), n.p., ebook.

26 Ibid.

27 Matthew Philpotts, 'What Makes a Great Magazine Editor? Seven Theses on Editorial Plurality', *Eurozine* (4 May 2018) [accessed 26 July 2021].

28 Scholes and Wulfman, n.p.

29 Within the field of Hungarian literary studies, *Nyugat* is generally referred to as a movement, a term that reflects both the way in which *Nyugat* critics (particularly Ignóty and Fenyő) declared the modern, innovative, and utterly new aesthetic content and style of the journal and the canonization that later established *Nyugat* as the beginning of modernism in Hungary. Current scholarship is more engaged in 'rediscovering' the journal, a task that is complicated by the mythologizing that surrounded *Nyugat* from its inception and owed a great deal to Fenyő's eulogies of *Nyugat* authors, his recollections, and continuous defence of the journal from internal or external attacks. As Tibor Gintli summarizes the issue: 'Although it would be a mistake to connect the spread of modern literature and the appearance of the first, significant, modern literary works exclusively to the publication of *Nyugat*, it cannot be doubted that no other journal has filled such an important role in the history of modern Hungarian literature.' ['Bár az irodalmi modernség térnyerését, illetve első jelentős alkotásait minden bizonnyal tévedés lenne kizárólag a Nyugat megjelenéséhez kapcsolni, az mégsem vonható kétségbe, hogy a folyóirat olyan fontos szerepet töltött be a modern magyar irodalom történetében, mellyel egyetlen más orgánium jelentősége sem mérhető össze.'] Tibor Gintli, 'A 20. század első felének magyar irodalma. Bevezetés', in *Magyar irodalom*, ed. by Tibor Gintli (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2010), pp. 641–46 (p. 644). For the purpose of this examination, I refer to *Nyugat* as an aesthetic movement in reflection of the significance Fenyő placed on the journal's role in spearheading modernism and to emphasize my argument that the journal was additionally connected to social and economic movements, albeit less openly than it was when declaring its defence of a new aesthetic.

on *Nyugat's* pages reminds us to heed Collier's warning that scholarly opinion may not coincide with how editors themselves viewed the journal they edited.<sup>30</sup> Relegated to the margins of *Nyugat's* cultural production, this ostensibly foreign corpus of advertisements emphasizes the need to explore *Nyugat* as an aesthetic movement that was founded upon a formation capable of straddling both modernism and modernity. Due to missing archival sources, it remains difficult to determine the exact workings and nature of *Nyugat's* connection with GyOSz; instead of pursuing a firm definition, I suggest viewing 'formation' in its many guises. Whether describing dances or parades (cultural formation), an attack strategy (military formation), or the organic process of petrification (such as a stone formation), the term imbues a certain fluidity that, when necessary, can solidify into a response to the forces of imitation, rivalry, and competition that characterize the life of a periodical. At other times, this solidity can dissolve into a choreographed pageant containing various players. *Nyugat's* connection with Association affiliates conceivably provided the journal's arsenal with an additional weapon. Given their transient, somewhat anonymous nature, advertisements can demonstrate affiliations and loyalties in a way that demands neither explanation nor permanence.

When viewed from Matthew Philpotts' examination of editor types, it can be said that *Nyugat's* marginalia reveal how the collective editorial work performed by Osvát, Fenyő, and Ignóty was connected to an 'editorship' of influential industrialists who may have supported *Nyugat's* success, financially, socially, or as a 'force to be reckoned with' when the journal came under attack. For the purpose of this analysis, the question is what these marginalia may reveal about *Nyugat's* reaction to underpinning artistic achievement with unabashedly capitalist and industrialist ties. Did *Nyugat* search for new aesthetic responses to a changing world while still relying upon the age-old custom of artistic patronage? By analysing the contrast between adverts for *Nyugat* publications (paratexts) and those for narrow-gauge railways (marginalia), I contend that the *Nyugat* authors' reverse market strategy, versus the journal's apparent, yet somehow unacknowledged connection with the Association, presents the image of a push-pull relationship pitting the emerging status of the freelance author against the more traditional role of patron.

### Reading *Nyugat's* Marginalia versus its Paratexts

Although analysing the industry-related advertisements, train schedules, and announcements that comprise what I label as *Nyugat's* marginalia provides a few investigative interpretations to explore, one important caveat must be mentioned in connection with this form of research. Despite its prominent position, *Nyugat* has never been fully digitalized. Until recently, the journal's only electronic version consisted of manual HTML transcriptions, without facsimiles that would have preserved the appearance of the original layout and pages and without the advertisements, bulletins, and notices that originally acted as the marginalia for the main texts in *Nyugat*.<sup>31</sup> To echo Margaret Beetham's observation, the practice of stripping a periodical of its advertisements before binding single issues into volumes was also a part of *Nyugat's* canonization.<sup>32</sup> This practice has greatly hindered scholars' ability to see journals as

30 Patrick Collier, 'The Magazine in Theory', in *The Routledge Companion to the British and North American Literary Magazine*, ed. by Tim Lanzendörfer (London: Routledge, 2021), chapter 2, ebook.

31 The HTML version of *Nyugat* was a coordinated effort by the National Széchenyi Library [Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár], the national library of Hungary, and most likely prepared based on the complete set of *Nyugat* issues that are available at the library. Further information regarding whether or not these issues had been previously bound, or contained the original advertisements is not known.

32 Margaret Beetham, 'Open and Closed: The Periodical as a Publishing Genre', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 22.3 (1989), 96–100.

they genuinely were, creating what Robert Scholes and Clifford Wulfman have called ‘holes in the archive’.<sup>33</sup>

Due to the constraints brought about by the ‘preservation’ of *Nyugat* in bound form, my analysis concentrates on the period of 1908 to 1911, because these are the only years to have been published as a facsimile of the original, by the Hungarian Academy of Science.<sup>34</sup> Assembling an entire volume of intact *Nyugat* issues from the years after 1911 would be nearly impossible, even when utilizing the privately-owned digital database of Hungarian periodicals ADT (Arcanum Digitalis Tudástár) [Arcanum Digital Knowledge Base]. While ADT enables researchers to study digital page scans of *Nyugat* rather than transcriptions of the journal’s textual content, some issues are missing while others were digitised from bound volumes from which much of the periodical’s advertising material had already been removed. To date, ADT only contains the years 1908–29, meaning that the years 1930–41 must still be read in print format, a factor that almost without exception means bound volumes of *Nyugat* containing little or no advertising. Even as the widespread availability of the periodical’s bound volumes indicates the high value placed on *Nyugat*, this form of preservation undoubtedly contributed to the conceptualization of the journal as a predominantly *l’art pour l’art*, cultural, and intellectual collaboration that distanced itself from the daily pressures of politics and society.

Indeed, one reason for my use of the term ‘marginalia’ for some of the advertising material or non-literary texts found in *Nyugat* is to draw attention to how this type of text’s location along a journal’s margins, edges or ‘fringe’ (as Lejeune refers to it) renders it vulnerable to the kind of removal detailed above.<sup>35</sup> Even if a journal’s advertising material remains intact, its anonymous, yet ubiquitous and repetitious nature additionally dooms it to a level of invisibility that results — on the part of both readers and scholars — in a status that is significantly marginalized compared to the other, ‘more important’ texts contained in a periodical. While it may seem advisable to rely upon Genette’s definition of paratexts, the industry-related advertisements I examine in *Nyugat* offer no ‘threshold’ or ‘sealed border’ that would in turn serve the reception of a literary text or bring a primary text into existence.<sup>36</sup> This role of paratexts is instead filled by the many book advertisements proclaiming *Nyugat* Publishers’ latest releases or the announcements for the poetry readings, lectures, and other cultural events that featured *Nyugat* authors. Even when removed from the journal, a book advertisement (paratext) can still be clearly connected to the text it represents: the same cannot be said of an announcement of military shipments or an advertisement for industrial-grade rubber. Compared to a paratext, marginalia either lose their significance or present a different meaning when separated from their context.

References to the journal’s GyOSz-related ties represent a far different type of game or *illusio* compared to that of furthering a literary work’s appeal to the public. Based on one interpretation, their presence can be seen as a silent proclamation of Fenyő’s weight as editor, a mapping out of the social capital he brought to *Nyugat*. Their removal from *Nyugat* as a result of the bookbinding process may also contribute to how Fenyő has been relatively overlooked in favour of Ignóty or Osvát’s more charismatic approach.

33 See Scholes and Wulfman’s discussion on the effects of stripping advertising from periodicals in ‘The Hole in the Archive and the Study of Modernist Magazines’, *Modernism in the Magazines* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), chapter 8.

34 *Nyugat*, ed. by Ferenc Katona, 13 vols (Budapest, 1908–11; repr. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979).

35 Philippe Lejeune, *Le Pacte autobiographique* (Paris: Seuil, 1975), p. 45.

36 Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 1–2.

### Analysing *Nyugat's* Marginalia

To give an example of one interpretation of *Nyugat's* advertisements, a study by Ágnes Veszelszki that is also based upon *Nyugat's* issues from 1908–11 selectively lists product categories such as clothing, cosmetics, books, entertainment, health and travel, household goods, paper, and education.<sup>37</sup> No mention is made of the fact that the same issues from these years contain advertisements for the machinery and equipment needed for operating mills, narrow-gauge railways, sugar refinement, and mining. Other than these obvious requirements for heavy industry, motor gas development plants, automobile production plants, producers of coke and coal for both household and industrial usage, and other types of specialized, technical equipment also appeared in *Nyugat's* marginalia. Between 1908 and 1911, *Nyugat* published announcements for general assemblies held at various banks or companies. The journal additionally contained calls for smaller manufactories to supply the military; further information regarding the supply process was available via the Association's periodical, *Közlemények/Magyar Gyáripar* [*Announcements/Hungarian Manufactory*] (1904–44).<sup>38</sup>

Although letters and recollections are sprinkled with sums that may or may not have passed between individual GyOSz members and *Nyugat* authors, amongst *Nyugat* documentation no record has been found of any payment for advertisements. Since the Association's records have yet to be located, it is impossible to state with any certainty whether every factory that advertised in *Nyugat* belonged to the Association or not. I used the following criteria to gauge Association connections: 1) the product itself was not intended for household usage or was listed as being delivered in industrial quantities; 2) the company name was the same as that of a known Association family (Goldberger, Chorin) or entity; 3) the advertisement referred to sister branches located internationally, thereby indicating access to a level of capital that was typical of the Association's leading members; 4) the same company advertised in *Magyar Gyáripar*, a periodical the Association only circulated among its members. The four volumes and ninety-six issues of *Nyugat* that were published between 1908 and 1911 contain a total of 363 advertisements for factories that meet the above criteria. Beyond these advertisements, there are thirteen notifications of bank/corporate assemblies, twenty-six bulletins informing merchants and factory owners of opportunities in fulfilling military supply demands, two notices in which the owner of a patent for milling equipment seeks a factory owner interested in purchasing patent rights, and three train schedules. Another item of interest can be found in six advertisements placed in 1909, offering the services of one Vilmos Pataky in designing trademarks for products and conducting the bureaucratic process for attaining patents.

While other periodicals also advertised factory-made products and train schedules, my preliminary comparisons of *Nyugat's* advertising proclivities to those of other journals from the era point to a higher industrial presence in *Nyugat*. Given the journal's publicly known ties to the Association (via the direct presence of Hatvany and Fenyő and the more indirect role of *Nyugat* Book Publishers, a factor that cannot be discussed at length in this examination), an interpretation based upon aesthetic capitalism allows

37 Ágnes Veszelszki, 'A *Nyugat* folyóirat hirdetései 1908 és 1911 között', *Az ELTE BTK Irodalomtudományi Doktori Iskola hallgatóinak publikációs fóruma* (n.d.), 1–16 (p. 5) [accessed 14 July 2019].

38 See *Nyugat*, 15 (1908). The Association's periodical was originally entitled *Közlemények: Magyar Gyáriparosok Országos Szövetsége* [*Announcements: National Association of Hungarian Industrialists*] and was first published in 1904. On 1 February 1911 *Közlemények* announced that the publication would continue under the title of *Magyar Gyáripar* and would appear bimonthly with Dr. Miksa Fenyő and Dr. Károly Koffer as its editors. The two titles refer to the same periodical since—other than the title—no other aspect of the journal changed. For the sake of ease, I refer to it as *Magyar Gyáripar*.

us, additionally, to gauge what Gernot Böhme calls the ‘staging value’ of *Nyugat’s* marginalia: the value a commodity bears due to its ability to stage a certain lifestyle.<sup>39</sup>

Since many of *Nyugat’s* advertisements relate to heavy industry rather than daily consumption, their staging value is not measured via commodities per se, but rather for its associative ability to connect a modern literary movement to a class of individuals for whom modernization and its accompanying processes of assimilation, urbanization, and industrialization proved a remarkable success — albeit mainly between 1867 and 1944, when the Holocaust reached its most perilous period in Hungary. As Daniela Gretz and Marcus Krause have argued, when viewed as a form of warehouse or marketplace, a journal that appears at regular intervals will increase its own staging value, thereby leading to a flow that permeates the periodical and unfolds in implications of power that then ripple throughout the entire journal.<sup>40</sup> For a journal dedicated to publishing new literary talent that was not only relatively unknown, but also touted modes of expression and aesthetic movements that did not follow mainstream taste, riding this ‘flow of power’ may have added an additional force to the network of means bookending *Nyugat’s* periodical formation.<sup>41</sup>

### GyOSz, *Nyugat*, and the Question of Authorial Autonomy

For the contemporary *Nyugat* reader, these simple ads symbolically ally the *Nyugat* literary movement with Hungary’s industrial, capitalist elite, whether or not *Nyugat’s* authors agreed with this alliance. Among the era’s intellectual elite, this circumstance could have engendered fears regarding the journal’s (and its authors’) autonomy. Beyond the financial backing and associative staging value the journal’s connection with the Association offered, it seems logical that the promise of a shared aim may have encouraged writers to overlook an alliance with a class they most likely neither agreed with politically, nor had direct access to socially. When discussing *Nyugat’s* position within a modernizing Hungarian society that was more feudal than capitalist, more agrarian than industrial, it is impossible not to note the authors’ adherence to what Mark Osteen and Martha Woodmansee describe as ‘a specifically *literary* form of value distinct from the price a work will bring or from its popularity with readers’.<sup>42</sup>

Particularly before World War I, this reverse market strategy was paired with indicators pointing to the aim of establishing a freelance economy of authorship. In other words, the collaborative nature of writing was downplayed in favour of its individual aspects, literary works were presented as the product of genius rather than the application of techniques related to the craft of writing, and the newness and originality of *Nyugat* publications was emphasized.<sup>43</sup> Within Hungarian literary history, these characteristics have been earmarked as Romanticism’s lingering residue combined with *fin-de-siècle* aestheticism, an interpretation that is — for today’s reader — befuddling when read

39 For a detailed history of Nyugat Book Publishers, see Attila Buda, *A Nyugat kiadó története* (Budapest: Borda Antikvárium, 2000). Gernot Böhme et al., ‘On Gernot Böhme’s Critique of Aesthetic Capitalism’, *Studi di estetica*, 3 (2019), 235–67 (p. 238) [accessed 26 July 2021].

40 Daniela Gretz and Marcus Krause, ‘From Pure Art to Sheer Luxury: Magazines as Ornamental Constellations and the Emergence of Aesthetic Capitalism in the Early Twentieth Century’, *Journal of European Periodical Studies*, 7.2 (2022), 74–96 (p. 90).

41 See Jerrold Spiegel’s discussion on how social change can be achieved by a limited number of people via control of a network of means possessing access to money, information, etc. Jerrold Spiegel, *Modernity and Bourgeois Life: Society, Politics and Culture in England, France and Germany Since 1750* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 7–8.

42 Mark Osteen and Martha Woodmansee, ‘Taking Account of the New Economic Criticism’, in *The New Economic Criticism as Social Theory*, ed. by Martha Woodmansee and Mark Osteen (Taylor and Francis e-Library, 2015), n.p., ebook.

43 Ibid.

alongside the advertisements, railway schedules, and military supply announcements that better suit the Association's periodical, *Magyar Gyáripar*, rather than the literary world of *Nyugat*.

Despite the journal's connections with Hungary's industrial scions, I do not argue that *Nyugat* functioned as a front for industrialization: it was first and foremost a literary and cultural collaboration. Yet neither can it be denied that *Nyugat* was also closely connected to the epicentre of significant social, economic, and political movements. To refer to John Xiros Cooper's argument regarding the role bohemian groups played in reinventing community relationships and remaking everyday life within a market society, I state that this case is also true in the reverse: just as the Association's business model may have affected *Nyugat's* formation as a periodical, the attitudes of the intellectuals and authors who published in *Nyugat* may have also provided a model for how the members of a modernizing, assimilatory, urban society think, dress, behave, and speak.<sup>44</sup> In the next section of this paper, I turn to eulogies as a form of text that ties *Nyugat* to GyOSz while perhaps illustrating how Fenyő (and in extension *Nyugat*) balanced authorial autonomy with his industrial connections.

### Immortalizing the Hatvany and Chorin Families

Investigating what is missing from *Nyugat's* marginalia demonstrates how the journal's industrial ties may have altered the traditional concept of patronage to one that ensured a greater level of autonomy. Given that one of the traditional expectations of patronage is to ensure the immortalization of a benefactor's munificence, both readers and the bereaved (yet remarkably wealthy) members of the Hatvany and Chorin families could logically expect the journal to commemorate the deaths of *Nyugat* patrons. Instead, the journal almost exclusively provides this type of 'immortalization' to fellow artists and intellectuals.

In this part of my analysis, I will examine how the Neolog Jewish newspaper *Egyenlőség* [*Equality*] eulogized the deaths of Sándor Hatvany-Deutsch on 18 February 1913, followed by that of his partner and first cousin, József Hatvany-Deutsch, on 30 June 1913. Both *Nyugat* and *Egyenlőség* enjoyed the Hatvany family's support, even if their patronage was provided by different generations. As *Nyugat* made no reference to the passing of either Sándor or József Hatvany-Deutsch, the eulogies published in *Egyenlőség* will then be compared to Miksa Fenyő's commemoration of Ferenc Chorin Sr.'s lifework, published in *Nyugat* in 1925.

On 23 February 1913, *Egyenlőség* first reported Sándor Hatvany-Deutsch's death in an article spanning three-and-a-half columns, followed by a full-page insert containing mourning and burial announcements issued by the deceased's closest family members, business associates, the Council for the Jewish Community of Pest, and the Council for the Chevra Kadisa of Pest.<sup>45</sup> According to the eulogy, Sándor maintained an office for distributing alms, a service to which the *Egyenlőség* newspaper repeatedly turned in the name of the poor. The article further attributes Sándor with establishing a Jewish orphanage in Arad, a women's wing in the Jewish hospital in Pest, and providing aid for Romanian Jews seeking refuge from Russian pogroms. The sums of money donated to these causes are listed. The article then describes Sándor's donation of a

44 John Cooper Xiros, *Modernism and the Culture of Market Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 21–22.

45 'Hatvany-Deutsch Sándor báró', *Egyenlőség*, 8 (1913), 6–7; [Insert], *Egyenlőség*, 8 (1913), 4.

polyclinic that, the author comments, was ‘still a Jewish creation, even if it is not Jewish in character’.<sup>46</sup>

The detailing of Sándor’s charitable efforts is followed by a summary of his biography, a list of the aristocrats and eminent members of society who sent sympathy telegrams to the family, and the information that Sándor left a will with sums included for his employees and business partners. On 2 March 1913, *Egyenlőség* devoted nearly a full page to describing Sándor’s burial ceremony, where the Hungarian politician and Association member, Loránt Hegedüs (1872–1943), held one of the funeral orations.<sup>47</sup> As the reporter comments, the funeral hearse bore wreaths from those of many religions, just as mourners themselves represented many segments of Hungary’s religious, political, aristocratic, economic, and industrial circles, a further indication of the Hatvany family’s success in attaining a ‘horizontal identity’ that expanded their network beyond the limitations created by class, ethnicity, and religious affiliation.<sup>48</sup>

Four months after Sándor Hatvany-Deutsch’s demise, József Hatvany-Deutsch’s death was announced in *Egyenlőség* on 6 July 1913.<sup>49</sup> In this case, far more detail was given about József’s work as an active member of the Neolog community who oversaw construction of the Jewish Theological Seminary in Budapest, publicly defended the Jewish faith, and devoted time and money to supporting Jewish literature. In lieu of a biography, József’s eulogy is followed by a detailed account of the emergency meetings called by various Jewish organizations to discuss József’s death and their role in the upcoming funeral. The mourning announcements cover two pages of the paper’s regular page number, rather than being included as an insert.<sup>50</sup> The next issue of 13 July 1913 devotes nearly two pages to József’s funeral and reprints the rabbi, Dr. Gyula Fischer’s, eulogy in full while one paragraph was quoted from the speech given by Loránt Hegedüs, the Association’s representative.<sup>51</sup> In a continuation of an obviously significant event, issues 45 (9 November 1913), 46 (16 November 1913), and 48 (30 November 1913) report on memorial services held for József Hatvany-Deutsch.<sup>52</sup> Although Sándor and József obviously differed in religious fervour, on the pages of *Egyenlőség* their portrayal as patrons follows the traditional form of money exchanged for the benefit of collective approval and immortalization.

While *Egyenlőség*’s concept of patronage mirrors traditional attitudes, *Nyugat* tended to mourn members of the intellectual elite and mainly reserved the right to special issues and eulogies for the deaths of *Nyugat* authors. Other than a death announcement tastefully outlined in black or a written eulogy, *Nyugat*’s non-literary marginalia or paratexts did not contain memorial or burial announcements. At most, the launching of a collection to pay for an author’s gravestone was announced. Despite Lajos Hatvany’s connection to the journal, no mention is made of his father’s death, even though Sándor Hatvany-Deutsch also figured among Miksa Fenyő’s Association superiors. In contrast, the death in 1917 of *Nyugat* author Margit Kaffka, of the Spanish flu, garnered a full-page photograph and the complete text of Miksa Fenyő’s memorial speech, the essence of which stated that the vibrant figure of its subject would continue

46 ‘A poliklinikán, mely ha nem is zsidó jellegű, de azért zsidó alkotás’. Hatvany-Deutsch Sándor báró’, p. 7.

47 ‘Hatvany-Deutsch Sándor temetése’, *Egyenlőség*, 9 (1913), 9.

48 Lawrence M. Friedman, *The Horizontal Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 8–10.

49 ‘Báró Hatvany-Deutsch József’, *Egyenlőség*, 27 (1913), 5–7.

50 *Egyenlőség*, 27 (1913), 12–13.

51 ‘Hatvany József báró temetése’, *Egyenlőség*, 28 (1913), 7–9.

52 ‘Rekviem’, *Egyenlőség*, 45 (1913), 11; ‘Hatvany József báró emléke’, *Egyenlőség*, 46 (1913), 11; ‘A budapesti orsz. rabbiképző értesítője’, *Egyenlőség*, 48 (1913), 9.

to remain alive through her literary works, thereby associating immortality with artistic production, not financial bounty.<sup>53</sup>

Given the lack of attention paid to commemorating the lives and works of its supporters, the appearance of Fenyő's 1925 eulogy for Ferenc Chorin Sr., one of the Association's founding members, is surprising.<sup>54</sup> A word-for-word reprint of Fenyő's original speech, given at the memorial held by the Association, this text briefly ushers *Nyugat* into the world of the latter's boardroom. While Fenyő provides an eloquent portrayal of Chorin's life as an important politician, lawyer, and businessman, no photo or picture of Chorin is provided. Instead, Chorin is repeatedly depicted as a marble bust akin to a sculpture of an ancient Roman senator: a relic of another age, that Fenyő portrays carefully, yet still does not raise to the level of vibrant eternity he attaches to Margit Kaffka's literary works.

Portraying an industrial magnate through the metaphor of a work of art once more raises the question of who achieves immortality and how: was it Chorin's lifetime of business achievements, public works, and political successes that 'formed' his image into the marble bust that Fenyő describes? Or is it, rather, sculptors who determine the image of 'the great man'? Despite his laudation of Chorin's life work, Fenyő makes no mention of Chorin's considerable role in brokering political and religious rights for Hungary's Jewish community, his Jewish identity, or his family. The lack of the latter is particularly strange given that Chorin's son and Fenyő's lifetime friend, Ferenc Chorin Jr., was certainly present when the speech was given. Unlike the donations listed for the Hatvany-Deutsches in *Egyenlőség*, no list of munificence or good deeds is included. Rather than recording the death of an important supporter, Fenyő's eulogy transforms Chorin into a marble bust symbolizing the death of the liberal attitudes and politics that enabled the forging of creative alliances and networks in the interest of both modernity and modernization. Yet when comparing the way in which Chorin's image becomes preserved and honoured via a form of 'petrification' into marble, the eternal life that Fenyő predicts for author Margit Kaffka (via her literary works) suggests that immortality favours the artist rather than the immortalized patron.

Whether viewed from the perspective of *Nyugat's* marginalia, its working model, or the contributions of Miksa Fenyő, the search for a horizontal identity that characterized both the Association and *Nyugat* provided the often unremarked, always fluid, yet firm formation to Hungary's primary modernist cultural movement. Locating the Association's accounting ledgers or finding a previously undiscovered cache of letters between Miksa Fenyő and the companies who advertised in *Nyugat* would draw a more quantitative image of the relationship between a periodical and its financial backers. Meanwhile, examining the journal's advertisements, notifications, bulletins, and eulogies reveals more about a group of intellectuals' quest for a more autonomous concept of authorship. By looking for signs within the journal's pages of the broader social and economic context that influenced *Nyugat's* periodical formation, the means of how a flow of power can spread from issue to issue is revealed, a factor that allows a journal to establish its own brand of value that can then be translated into a lasting form of aesthetic capital.

Although circumstances prevented both Association members as well as *Nyugat's* authors from effecting the social and political changes in taxation, land reform, and voting rights that (if achieved) would arguably have altered the course of Hungarian history, the works promoted by *Nyugat* and Nyugat Book Publishers continue to maintain a prominent position on the 'top shelf' of Hungarian literature. Canonization, however,

53 Miksa Fenyő, 'Kaffka Margit', *Nyugat*, 24 (1918), 773–76.

54 Miksa Fenyő, 'Emlékezés Chorin Ferencről', *Nyugat*, 12 (1925), 6–14.

came with the cost of amputating art from the marginalia that bookended a modernist program in which cultural innovations not only opened new avenues toward different perspectives, lifestyles, and modes of speech, but also demonstrated how individual aims can be integrated rather than assimilated. Within the shifting dualities brought about by political, social, and economic circumstances, the dispositions of *Nyugat*'s editors contributed to a periodical formation that was able to maintain links with a network that reinforced the horizontal identity of a literary movement. Yet establishing the *Nyugat* 'brand' as a form of aesthetic capital also demanded an increased level of artistic autonomy. By examining Miksa Fenyő's dual affiliation to *Nyugat* and GyOSz, this paper has differentiated between marginalia and paratexts in order to examine what 'rules of the game' may have resulted in both the journal's success and altered attitudes toward artistic patronage, thereby enabling members of Hungary's intellectual élite to seek and provide aesthetic responses to the challenges of modernity.

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